



Philippines scavenging at a dump in Tondo, Manila's worst slum. Government figures show that 70 percent of families are below the poverty line and that malnutrition is widespread.

Marcos Reels as Failures Mount

Economic Decline, Growing Insurgency Pose Threats

By William Branigin
Washington Post Service

MANILA — "We have not failed," President Ferdinand E. Marcos declared emphatically. "We have succeeded. We have succeeded in attending to the basic needs of our people."

The scene was a recent televised address, at which the Philippine president lectured at length his as-

predicates a 2-percent decrease, but an independent economist, Bernardo Villegas, calls that too optimistic. He forecasts "negative growth" at 6 percent, amounting to a serious depression.

The Philippines, complained one critic of Mr. Marcos in a letter to a local newspaper, has the "dubious distinction of being Asia's economic deadbeat."

The country also has the distinction of being the only Southeast Asian nation with a growing Communist insurgency.

By all accounts, the New People's Army, the military wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines, has gained strength in recent years in rural areas. Now there are signs that the insurgents are increasingly taking the fight into the cities, especially in the southern Philippines.

An inquiry into these and other problems suggests that the deepening crisis is not a failure for Mr. Marcos alone. It is also a looming problem for the United States.

For it was the United States that granted the Philippines independence in 1946 and set the country on its way with a U.S.-style political and education system as "showcase of democracy in Asia."

The American economic, military and political stakes in the country remain great.

In addition to American investments totaling about \$2 billion, the Philippines harbors two large U.S. military bases considered vital to American strategic interests.

"Losing those bases would be a major strategic setback for the United States," Representative Stephen J. Solarz, a New York Democrat, said during a recent visit to Manila. But so uncertain has the future of the Philippines become, he said, that his House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on

U.K. Aide Calls Ban 'Mistake'

Galvin Incident A 'Setback' for Policy in Ulster

By Jo Thomas
New York Times Service

BELFAST — Britain's Northern Ireland secretary, James Prior, said Tuesday that the decision to ban Martin Galvin, publicity director of the Irish Republican Army, "looks like a bad mistake."

Mr. Prior, the senior government minister in charge of the province, said he took "full responsibility" for the decision. Police efforts to arrest Mr. Galvin at a rally on Sunday resulted in one death and at least 20 injuries.

"If things had worked out differently," said Mr. Prior, "we might have been under just as much criticism if we had not banned him from coming here. Here was a man that openly supported murder, violence, collected money, arms to kill soldiers, to kill policemen. Now when you know all that, would you just sit idly by and say: 'Let him come. Let him do what he wants.' Would you?"

A statement attributed to Mr. Galvin said he regarded Mr. Prior's comments as a removal of the ban, but did not give details of his whereabouts. The Associated Press reported. The statement, issued in Dublin by Sinn Fein, the political arm of the IRA, said: "Since Jim Prior himself has now admitted that the ban against me was an error, may I now consider the ban to be withdrawn or must I take further action to use their ban to further expose the indefensible realities of British rule in Ireland?"

It was 15 years ago Tuesday that the British troops were deployed to relieve the exhausted police and keep peace on the streets of Northern Ireland. Since then, 377 soldiers, 200 regular and reserve police officers, and nearly 2,500 civilians have died.

As police began an investigation into the latest civilian death — that of Sean Downes, 22, who was killed by a plastic bullet fired by police at Sunday's rally — Sergeant Malcolm A. White was buried. Sergeant White was killed by a bomb that exploded under his patrol car on Saturday.

Two more funerals are planned: one for Mr. Downes on Wednesday, arranged by Sinn Fein, and another for Sergeant William McDonald, 29, who died of injuries in an IRA bomb attack on a police classroom nine months ago. Sergeant McDonald was the 20th policeman to die.

There have been a flood of calls for an inquiry into what David Steel, Britain's Liberal Party leader, called a "police riot." Sir John Hermon, the chief constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, Northern Ireland's paramilitary police force, announced that an investigation would be conducted by the deputy chief constable, Michael McAtamney.

Sir John has insisted that Mr. Downes was rioting at the time he was struck by the plastic bullet, an account that has been contested by several witnesses.

Mr. Prior said he would consider an outside inquiry into the shooting, but "one has the feeling that these inquiries tend to rake over the ashes. I just want to consider these things very carefully."

He acknowledged that the violence was "an enormous setback for me personally in my efforts to try to improve relations with the community."

"It's also a great setback" for the police, he added.

Both Liberal and Labor Party leaders called for a ban on the use of plastic bullets, as did Bishop Cahal Daly, the leading Roman Catholic prelate in Belfast who has been a critic of the IRA.

Reagan Rebuffed On Taxes

Republicans Use Comma to Kill A Compromise

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

DALLAS — Republican platform writers used a single comma Tuesday to toughen an anti-tax plank that had been endorsed by the White House as a way of keeping President Ronald Reagan's options open on a 1985 tax increase.

The move came as the Republicans began putting the finishing touches on the platform that will be submitted for ratification Tuesday at the party's convention here.

It prolonged a potentially embarrassing public dispute over what position the party should take on tax increases. Reagan administration officials have insisted that the platform language allow the president the option of raising taxes as a "last resort," while party conservatives have demanded language ruling out a tax increase under any circumstances.

On Sunday, Drew Lewis, the president's chief representative to the platform meeting, said that Mr. Reagan was prepared to "repudiate the Republican platform" if it flatly rules out a tax increase.

The language approved by the subcommittee dealing with economic policy said: "We therefore oppose any attempts to increase taxes, which would harm the recovery and reverse the trend to restoring control of the economy to individual Americans."

The only change from what the White House had endorsed was a compromise on the inclusion of a comma after the word "taxes."

Republican leaders here opened a concerted attack on Geraldine Ferraro's finances. Page 3.

But the result was elimination of an escape hatch under which taxes could be raised if they did not harm the recovery.

There was no immediate reaction from the White House or Mr. Lewis. Senator Robert J. Dole of Kansas, an advocate of giving the president flexibility to raise taxes if necessary, did not indicate whether the change would be challenged in the full platform committee.

"I think we'll take a look at it and get an English major in to take a look at it," he said. "We'll just call it a type."

Representative Trent Lott of Mississippi, chairman of the party's Platform Committee, said he thought the White House could live with the comma. He noted that another amendment adopted Tuesday, stating that party members "force no economic circumstances which would call for increased taxation," gave the president even more flexibility.

With less than a minute's discussion, the subcommittee also approved a plank that said, "We will eliminate taxation of interest income on savings accounts." Such a move would cost the Treasury billions of dollars in lost revenue since interest from savings is taxed now as regular income.

Mr. Lewis and Senator Robert W. Kasten Jr. of Wisconsin had worked out the compromise on Monday that would pledge the party to "categorically reject proposals to increase taxes in a misguided effort to balance the budget. Tax and spending increases would reduce incentives for economic activity and abort the recovery."

That proposal also retained language from an earlier platform draft that did not expressly rule out a tax increase. The insertion of the comma on Tuesday seemed to undo this language.

Conservatives in the party, who dominate the platform drafting committee, have insisted that there be no "loopholes" to blur the difference between Mr. Reagan and Walter F. Mondale.

Mr. Mondale, the Democratic nominee, has said he would raise taxes to cut the deficit and has accused Mr. Reagan of having a "secret plan" to do the same. The draft platform language rejects any such plan and says that deficits should be curbed "by first continuing strong economic recovery and second, eliminating wasteful government spending."

During the day Monday, the Republicans appeared embarrassed in their conflict over the tax issue, which Mr. Mondale made the center of debate in his acceptance speech.

At a morning news conference, Mr. Kasten said that most Republicans "do not want to leave a window open" for a 1985 tax increase and complained that Mr. Reagan's "last-resort" qualification "has made it more difficult" for the platform committee to do its work. "We are not anxious to leave a lot of wiggle room," he said.

Mr. Kasten said he remained unconvinced that the president was looking for a loophole because "he is opposed to taxes in general."

Mr. Lewis, who had been standing (Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)



A young poster artist needs to watch his spelling as he helps with preparations for the Republican National Convention in Dallas, which is scheduled to open on Monday.

Zimbabwe Takes a Step Toward Norm

In Africa of One-Party, One-Man Rule

By Alan Cowell
New York Times Service

HARARE, Zimbabwe — When the stirrings for independence first swept across Africa nearly three decades ago, the response by and large from European overlords was that freedom be modeled on an image of Western democracy.

The notion has not endured. In 100 coups or attempted coups, at least 70 African leaders have been deposed in a quarter of a century. Almost half the member nations of the Organization of African Unity are led by soldiers.

If there is a political system that has evolved as the norm, it is the one-party state, often based on one-man rule. There are but nine nations on the continent that exercise power in systems akin to those the colonial powers sought to bequeath to them.

Thus, beyond the fiery language and revolutionary resolve that accompanied the ruling party's congress in Zimbabwe here over the last few days, there was a sense of the inevitable, a historical imperative at play that will increase by one the number of one-party states.

The Zimbabwe ruling party's congress, the first the party has held in 21 years, resolved to turn the former British colony, Africa's youngest independent nation, into a one-party state under the leadership of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and his Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front.

In effect, the congress gave Mr. Mugabe unprecedented powers to move at his own pace toward dismantling the British-drafted constitution.

At the meeting, Mr. Mugabe said, staff members discussed their fear that the seminary might be vandalized, as well as ways to protect books and manuscripts from destruction.

Also at that meeting, Mr. Strauss said, staff members said that some books and manuscripts had already been smuggled out of Germany by Ismar Elbogen, a seminary professor, and that plans were being made to give other books and manuscripts to another professor, Alexander Gottmann.

To the affidavit, Mr. Strauss said he has read the edited version of the affidavit written by the person who smuggled the books from Germany and sold them at Sotheby's. Mr.

Sotheby's spokesman said Monday the company would not comment on the charges pending a court hearing scheduled for Wednesday.

The lawsuit concerns 59 rare Hebrew books and manuscripts that belonged to a Berlin rabbinical seminary, the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums (the College for the Scientific Study of Jewish Culture), which was closed by the Nazis in 1942. The books were presumed destroyed until last April, when Sotheby's announced they would be sold anonymously on June 26. The auction was held despite protests by numerous Jewish groups and a last-minute effort by Mr. Abrams to stop the sale.

Last month, Mr. Abrams received an affidavit written by the seller of the books, who said he had smuggled them from Germany "at great personal risk." The seller's name was deleted from the affidavit and Mr. Abrams, who later learned his identity, is protecting it under an agreement with Sotheby's. A spokesman for Mr. Abrams said Sotheby's had requested the agreement, and Mr. Abrams believed that it would not hinder the basic goals of his lawsuit.

In his affidavit, the seller asserted that the head of the seminary, who is now dead, gave him the

Soviet Press Says Quip by Reagan Unmasks His Aggressive Feelings

By Serge Schmemmann
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — The Soviet press reacted Tuesday to President Ronald Reagan's quip about bombing Russia with sarcasm and scorn, calling it proof that his anti-Soviet sentiments remained unchanged.

In testing the microphone for his weekly radio address last Saturday, Reagan declared: "My fellow Americans, I am pleased to tell you signed legislation which out Russia forever. We begin bing in five minutes."

One of the more biting commentaries to Moscow, Gennikib, a journalist, said on the evening television news program the world would recognize that y hurdles stand between the es of the president and their zation.

president's quip had unmasks his recent conciliatory gestures toward Moscow as camouflage.

"It is doubtful that the White House will be able to extinguish the spreading political scandal," Mr. Zhukov wrote. "One cannot doubt that Reagan's statement will be taken the world over as confirmation that his hypocritical discussions of a purported yearning to normalize relations with the Soviet Union and achieve disarmament represented only camouflage of the political course he proclaimed on entering the White House."

Walter F. Mondale, the Democratic presidential nominee, has warned Mr. Reagan to watch his language. The New York Times reported from North Oaks, Minnesota.

"I'm willing to accept it as a joke," Mr. Mondale said Monday of the Reagan remark about bombing the Soviet Union. But he said the president should realize that "those words live, and they will be read and listened to by the world."

Mr. Mondale said he did not find it a very funny joke, however.

Larry Speakes, Mr. Reagan's chief spokesman, continued Tuesday to insist the remark was off-the-record and as such would not be acknowledged by the White House. United Press International reported, "I have not commented on it and I don't intend to," Mr. Speakes said.

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Japanese Scholars Poring Over MacArthur's Occupation Files

By Norman D. Arkins
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Nestled in the first-floor research room in back of the Washington National Records Center in Suitland, Maryland, Sakae Edamatsu has been trying, for four months now, to steer a team of four researchers through 10,000 cubic feet of documents. Each day she leaves a dent, however small.

The files were created and collected by the headquarters of the supreme commander for the Allied powers, General Douglas MacArthur, during the occupation of Japan from August 1945 to April 1952. Using a team of research supervisors from Japan, that country's parliamentary library is halfway through a 12-year, \$250-million project designed to code and microfilm the estimated 30 million pages of declassified documents.

The documents offer the Japanese people their first look behind "the bamboo curtain" of MacArthur's occupation administration,

said Eiji Takemae, a professor at the Tokyo University of Economics.

They give a "blow-by-blow" description of how the Japanese constitution was crafted, almost word for word, by MacArthur's advisers," said Marlene Mayo, a professor of Japanese history at the University of Maryland.

The documents, she said, could provide ammunition for moves to revise the constitution.

The project is designed to provide the library — the Japanese equivalent of the Library of Congress — with the most accessible and extensive files on postwar Japan at a time when scholars say interest in the subject is booming.

Suitland at one time, including Mrs. Edamatsu. They fastidiously comb through piles of documents, ferreting out the duplicates, checking and rechecking dates and typing descriptions.

The National Archives and Records Service then microfilms the documents and the library staff in Tokyo makes microfiche copies from the microfilm.

"Think of it: I am one of the first Japanese people to see these documents to almost 40 years," said Shingji Fujishiro, one of the researchers. "When I open a box of papers, I feel like I am opening a treasure chest."

Mrs. Mayo, who has been poring over the files since the U.S. government declassified them in 1977, said she will "probably spend the rest of my career writing about the American occupation of Japan based largely on these documents."

INSIDE

Lech Walesa said his union needs to reassess its position following an amnesty for political prisoners. Page 2.

Nigeria declares a "War Against Indiscipline," including harsh penalties for many crimes. Page 3.

U.S. businessmen are awaking to the high cost of culture shock abroad. Page 6.

S.G. Warburg, a British merchant bank, is teaming up with three securities firms. Page 7.

TOMORROW

The U.S. government's cocaine eradication program in Peru has been suspended because of guerrilla attacks.

Republican Leaders Open Concerted Attack On Ferraro Finances

By Howell Raines

WASHINGTON — Republican leaders have opened a concerted attack on Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro after the announcement by the Democratic vice-presidential candidate that her husband would not release his income tax returns.

The attacks, led on Monday by Senator Robert J. Dole of Kansas and a spokesman for Vice President George Bush, reflected the private judgment of President Ronald Reagan's re-election strategists that Ms. Ferraro's announcement offered a chance to dim her luster as the new star of the campaign year. The announcement ran counter to her earlier promise of full financial disclosure by her and her husband, John A. Zaccaro.

Republican strategists said that for the first time the Republicans had a "genderless issue" that they could use to discredit Ms. Ferraro without risking a backlash of sympathy for her.

"The public interest and the public's right to know have not changed," Mr. Dole said at a news conference in Dallas. "Have Ms. Ferraro's views on disclosure changed?"

Mr. Dole and many other Republican leaders were in Dallas for hearings on the Republican platform, and his news conference was held with the approval of the Reagan re-election committee and the Republican National Committee.

Peter Teelie, Mr. Bush's press secretary, also criticized Mr. Zaccaro as "a very selfish man." "He must have something to hide," said Mr. Teelie. "When you've got the first woman on a national ticket who's got an opportunity to be the first female vice president of the United States, if you're a millionaire and you're in business, that becomes so much less important than doing everything you can to help elect your wife to the vice president's office, and that would include releasing your income tax."

Mr. Teelie said that Mr. Bush released his income tax forms for 1977 through 1980, and that in

1981 Mr. and Mrs. Bush's holdings went into the "most stringent blind trust that could be arranged."

Under that trust they do not see the income tax returns, he said, because for them to do so would "defeat the purpose of a blind trust," which is to prevent conflict of interest by prohibiting the officeholder from knowing where his money is invested.

Walter F. Mondale, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, said at a news conference in North Oaks, Minnesota, said of Mr. Zaccaro, "That's his decision and he's made that decision. As the presidential nominee, I will take the responsibility for my running mate. She is fully complying with the law."

On July 24, Ms. Ferraro had said that she would "disclose my tax returns for the past several years," even though that disclosure is not required under U.S. election laws.

On Sunday, Ms. Ferraro said that her husband had refused to release his tax returns on the ground that it would create a disadvantage for his real estate company in New York City.

The Ethics in Government Act of 1978 requires presidential and vice-presidential candidates and their spouses to disclose their sources of income and their financial liabilities. Only under a narrow set of circumstances can the spouse of a candidate be exempted. The law does not require that income tax forms be released.

However, since 1976 the candidates on both the Republican and Democratic tickets have voluntarily released their income tax returns.

On Sunday there were demands from Republicans, some Democrats, and the citizens' organization Common Cause that Ms. Ferraro and her husband continue this tradition.

Ms. Ferraro's statement was a dominant concern among Republican officials and strategists in Dallas on Monday. The consensus was that the tax-return issue and the broader question of Mr. Zaccaro's business dealings might settle the Republicans' problem of finding a way to run against the



Geraldine Ferraro tried on a cap bearing the insignia of the Chula Vista, California, police department. Her appearance Monday dealt with criminal-justice issues, an effort, her press secretary said, "to show she's tough-minded."

first female vice-presidential candidate of a major party.

■ Reagan Holds Firm in Poll

Hedrick Smith of The New York Times reported from New York:

The political lift that Mr. Mondale hoped to gain from the Democratic National Convention and the nomination of Ms. Ferraro has not materialized, according to the latest New York Times-CBS News Poll.

The survey found that 62 percent of the nation's registered voters approved of having a woman as a vice-presidential nominee, but that the American electorate had a less favorable opinion of Mr. Mondale now than it did before the Democratic convention.

While Ms. Ferraro remains less well known than Mr. Mondale, the survey found one-fourth of those who ood back the Democratic ticket like her better than he. By comparison, only one-tenth of those who back the Republican ticket like Vice President Bush better than President Reagan.

Overall, the survey showed the Reagan-Bush ticket holding a lead of 49 percent to 34 percent over the

Mondale-Ferraro ticket. That lead is identical to the lead of 15 percentage points that Mr. Reagan held over Mr. Mondale in a New York Times-CBS News Poll in late June.

This year, the period between the two parties' national conventions has been volatile. A Gallup Poll conducted on July 19-20, as the convention ended, showed the Democratic ticket ahead by 48 percent to 46 percent, although a more recent Gallup Poll showed the Reagan-Bush ticket leading by 52 percent to 42 percent.

In general, the New York Times-CBS News Poll showed the Democratic convention had made a good impression. But Mr. Mondale's "favorable-unfavorable rating" considered an important political indicator, has moved against him.

In January, he had a rating of 40 percent favorable to 28 percent unfavorable. That fell to virtually even in June and slipped in the current survey to 29 percent favorable to 32 percent unfavorable.

The telephone poll was of 1,183 registered voters from Aug. 5 to last Thursday in a total sample of 1,616 adults.

Nigeria Declares War on 'Indiscipline'

Laziness Is Fought With Slogans as Well as Harsh Penalties for Many Crimes

By Clifford D. May
New York Times Service

LAGOS — This television advertisement can be seen many times each evening throughout Nigeria.

In the first scene, an office worker is shown sprawling across his desk, fast asleep. In the second, a secretary paints her fingernails, oblivious to the telephone ringing on her desk. A voice asks, "How do you spend your working day?"

To drive the point home, the camera shifts to a Nigerian air-traffic controller efficiently coordinating arrivals and departures, and then to baggage handlers energetically loading an airplane.

The commercial is one of several promoting the "War Against Indiscipline." It was declared in March by Tunde Idiagbon, one of the two top men in the military government that overthrew Nigeria's civilian rule in a coup last Dec. 31.

Many people here say that initially they viewed the campaign as simply a propaganda exercise intended to persuade the public that if everyone worked diligently, stopped dumping garbage in the streets and lined up for buses and elevators rather than stampeding through the doors, Nigeria would be a nicer place to live.

In recent days, however, the Nigerian campaign has been bolstered by a growing list of military decrees prescribing draconian punishments for acts of "indiscipline."

Cheating on an examination, for example, can now bring a student 21 years in prison. Counterfeiting, arson, selling oil illegally, dealing in or using drugs and tampering with telephone cables all now carry the death penalty.

So far, at least, the majority of those who have faced firing squads have been armed robbers. But hundreds of Nigerians have been imprisoned in recent months and many have yet to learn the charges against them. Western diplomats say that more than a dozen Europeans and North Americans have been detained.

Earlier this month, a French man working in Nigeria was sentenced to five years in prison for carrying into the country 431 naira — less than \$600 at the official rate of exchange, and only about \$100 at the black-market rate. He said he had mistakenly taken the money with him when he went home on vacation and brought it back when he returned. No more than 20 naira can be legally taken from or brought into Nigeria.

An American woman has been in



The materials used in Nigeria's "War Against Indiscipline" include buttons, left, billboards and advertisements of a complaint service to call about "environmental nuisances."

for nearly seven months. Diplomats say they have been told that "she is guilty." When they have asked of what crime, they have been told, "We are investigating."

Meanwhile, scores of businesses in the country have embarked on wars against indiscipline at the workplace, pasting WAI posters on the walls and pinning WAI buttons on their most exemplary workers.

Television newscasters wear WAI badges on their traditional robes, and even the hosts of Saturday children's programs urge their viewers to "fight the WAI."

The Lagos military government, in an effort to clean up the capital, has started a 24-hour complaint service for the removal of "environmental nuisances." An advertisement for the service begins, "Is there any dead body abandoned in your street?"

The military governors of each of Nigeria's 19 states also have started local WAI campaigns.

In Niger state, for example, the WAI committee chairman has

called for the reintroduction of corporal punishment in schools. In Bauchi, all "free women" have been ordered to get married within three months or leave the state. In other regions, card playing, certain kinds of music, "seductive dress" and "juju," the practice of magic, have also been prohibited.

Critics of the campaign say Nigerians behave as they do in an attempt to cope with a frustrating physical and social environment. They say, for example, that the many burglaries and muggings can be largely traced to the mass migration of people from the countryside to the cities in search of high-paying jobs that few have found.

As for the lesser forms of indiscipline, these, too, may be the result of competition for scarce goods and services. "People would queue up for buses if they knew another bus was coming along soon," a Nigerian businessman said. "But if you think that you're going to have to wait two hours or may not get home at all, of course you're going to push and shove your way on."

He pointed out that at the country's airports, where seats on planes are seldom assigned and where overbooking is common, normally well-behaved Europeans and Americans routinely join with Nigerians in a 100-yard dash across the runway to the boarding ramp.

Nigeria's press, once known as the least restricted in Africa, has become notably more docile since the recent sentencing of two prominent journalists from The Guardian, an independent newspaper, to a year in prison.

The journalists were convicted under Decree No. 4, which makes it a crime to print a falsehood, knowingly or not, or even to print the truth if that truth embarrasses the government.

"A trend has clearly emerged," said Eddie Iroh, managing editor of The Guardian. "This government believes that the less freedom people have the better."

A civil servant took a different view, saying, "They are trying to make good little soldiers out of us all and it just isn't possible to do."

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Policeman Put Bomb on Athlete's Bus

The Associated Press

LOS ANGELES — A police officer who had been acclaimed as a hero for disarming a bomb aboard a bus carrying the luggage of Turkish Olympic athletes confessed Tuesday to planting the device, Police Chief Daryl Gates said.

Mr. Gates said Officer James Pearson was arrested and booked for investigation of possession of a destructive device, and that investigators believed he planted the bomb to get attention from his superiors in the Los Angeles Police Department.

No one was injured by the device, which touched off several telephoned bomb threats and forced the evacuation of about 6,000 people from three terminals at Los Angeles International Airport. A bomb threat also caused U.S. Olympic medalists, in Washington for ceremonies honoring them, to evacuate buses at Dulles International Airport outside the capital.

The authorities said earlier that Mr. Pearson discovered the bomb while checking the wheel well of the bus, which was unloading at the airport at 5:45 P.M. Monday. Mr. Gates had called the officer "a real hero" who had disarmed a bomb he thought was ready to explode.

Mr. Gates said that investigators began to suspect Mr. Pearson, 40, a nine-year member of the police force, because of discrepancies in his story on how he had disarmed the bomb. In addition, the police chief said, Mr. Pearson "had some background in explosives" and officers could not discover how the device could have been planted aboard the carefully guarded bus.

The officer took a polygraph, or lie detector, test and confessed Tuesday shortly before taking a second one, Mr. Gates said.

"He had a remarkable record," Mr. Gates said. "He had numerous commendations. We are very sad that he has chosen to do this."

■ Romanian Seeks Asylum

Vladimir Moraru, 38, a Romanian journalist who helped The San Diego Union newspaper cover the Olympic Games, has asked for political asylum in the United States. The Associated Press reported from San Diego. He was the only known defection during the Games, according to the State Department.

DEATH NOTICE

Mr. Paul J. Lochak, Mrs. Betty Chakire, Mrs. Simone Ballardras, Mr. and Mrs. Pierre Lochak, Mrs. Danielle Lochak and Mr. Jacques Chevallier, have the sorrow to announce the passing of

Mr. BORIS LOCHAK, on the 11th of August, 1984 in Paris, France.

Family and friends will gather in the chapel of the Assommoir Hospital on Thursday the 16th of August, 1984 at 10:30 a.m. Burial will be in the New Cemetery of Neuilly at 11:30 a.m.



President Chiang Ching-kuo of Taiwan with the six hijackers, left to right, Gao Duming, Zhao Changren, Wang Yenda, An Janwei, Jiang Hongjun and Wu Yunfei.

Seoul's Freeing of Hijackers Irks Beijing

By John Burgess

TOKYO — Six Chinese citizens who hijacked a Chinese airliner to South Korea last year were entertained as heroes in Taiwan on Tuesday after the South Korean government released them and allowed them to leave the country.

China, which opened its first official contacts with South Korea in the past 15 months, condemned the hijackers' release and repeated demands that they be returned to China for punishment.

But it was unclear whether China would slow the rapprochement with South Korea in protest. Some analysts doubted Beijing was sufficiently angered to jeopardize what appears to be a long-term objective of dialogue

with the anti-Communist government in Seoul.

Like China, South Korea appears to believe that the contacts will foster security on the Korean peninsula, where the United States maintains 40,000 troops. Seoul is also said to view the relations as an advantage in the contest for international acceptance that it wages with North Korea.

Contacts that Seoul put out to Moscow were suspended last year after a Soviet fighter jet shot down a South Korean airliner.

Earlier this year, South Korea and China exchanged sports teams, competing in tennis and basketball, and South Korea is scheduled to send a basketball team to China this fall.

Ironically, the Chinese-South Korean contacts began with the

hijacking in May 1983 during a flight from 19 persons inside, when they evacuated it Saturday. The victims were said to have included Tamil prisoners who were left bound and gagged.

Witnesses said the bomb exploded, burying the victims under tons of rubble, when Tamil youths opened the front door to the police station. Mr. Athulathumudali said instead that 11 persons died when a bomb they carried into the evacuated police station exploded prematurely. He said that the bodies of the 11 had been removed by village residents and that an examination of the debris Monday night in the presence of local Tamil government officials had produced no more bodies.

In an attack on what he called "correspondents from the liberal belt of the world," Mr. Athulathumudali said, "It is not axiomatic

Poor Leadership, Shifting Electorate Blamed for Labor's Failure in Israel

By Glenn Frankel

JERUSALEM — Three weeks after they stumbled in what was supposed to be a decisive and seemingly preordained electoral victory, the leaders of Israel's Labor Party are too busy attempting to organize a new government to spend much time analyzing what went wrong.

But other party members, opponents and outside analysts are drawing some deeply pessimistic conclusions for the fate of the party that once governed Israel without interruption for 29 years.

Labor, according to this critical consensus, has lost its ability to appeal to a majority of the electorate. Its entrenched leaders have developed an image of three-time losers and are increasingly portrayed as a selfish elite with tired blood and little in common with the upstart middle Jewish masses.

The Likud has latched on to all the rising demographic waves," said David Tsvorsky, editor of the Labor Party's monthly magazine, Spectrum. "The fact is, we're locked into the old age homes while they've got the high schools."

The combination of a 400-percent annual inflation rate, the quagmire of military involvement in Lebanon and the absence from politics for the first time in a generation of Menachem Begin and his replacement by the luckless Yitz-

hak Shamir, all gave Labor a seemingly insurmountable advantage. Faced with these conditions, Labor's leadership opted for a cautious strategy aimed at wooing the several hundred thousand former Likud supporters whom polls indicated were disappointed with the

NEWS ANALYSIS

government's performance. Differences over the invasion of Lebanon and Jewish settlements on the West Bank were played down.

Laborites like Abba Eban, a senior party leader and former top diplomat, and Mr. Tsvorsky say the party was wrong to soft-pedal ideology. But many analysts think Labor's real problems lay much deeper.

Ironically, they see Labor's problems dating back to the 1950s, the time of the party's greatest political triumphs. A new coalition of 650,000 successfully absorbed an immigrant population of more than twice its size, but many of the newcomers, who had fled from nearby Arab states, spent years in makeshift harkaras or tents or overcrowded development villages.

They came to see Labor as the party of the establishment and the children of that first generation found their natural political home with Likud, which under Mr. Begin successfully portrayed itself as the party of the underdog.

Labor has increased the number of Sephardic Jews on its parliamentary lists, but an analysis by an Israeli pollster, Hanoch Smith, shows that Likud and its allies took 55 percent of the Sephardic vote, compared to 21.5 percent for Labor and its allies.

Labor faces a similar gap with

youth, a problem made strikingly clear by the 55 percent majority for Likud and its rightist ally Tehiya among soldiers voting in the July 23 election.

Simcha Dinitz, a Labor party member of the Knesset, or parliament, and former ambassador to the United States, said that there are now hundreds of thousands of voters who were born around the time of the Six-Day War in 1967 and who have grown up "only knowing the West Bank as part of Israel."

"We have failed to convince them of the wisdom or the necessity for territorial compromise," he said.

Labor also found itself with a double-edged sword over the economy. While the national economy fell into a tailspin, individual Israelis had prospered in unprecedented fashion under Likud, a point that party leaders hammered home to the last weeks of the campaign with new government subsidies and easing of foreign currency restrictions.

Then there is Labor's leadership crisis. In the idiosyncratic world of Israeli electoral politics, candidates run on a party-designated list. The organization, rather than the voters, determines political careers. Loyalty to party and personal leadership clique is everything.

Thus Labor stuck with Shimon Peres as leader despite two previous defeats at the hands of Mr. Begin and despite the widespread public feeling that Mr. Peres is a tired politician.

There is no consensus on solutions to these problems. Some argue that Labor's shrewdest bet would be to wait until a new generation of more prosperous allies returns to the party in the same way a rising American middle class came to identify once again with Republicanism. Others say either Labor or the country can afford to wait. "It may not sound noble, but the important thing is to get into office," Mr. Eban said. "This country needs an input of the old pioneering Zionist spirit. The Labor still represents, and if it doesn't get it now, it may be too late."

Jews in U.S. Oppose Shift In Israeli Law

By Kenneth A. Briggs

NEW YORK — Sixteen major American Jewish religious and community groups have protested a suggested change in Israel's law of return that would bar all converts to the Reform and Conservative movements from gaining entrance to Israel as Jews.

Spokesmen said it was the largest such coalition ever to take sides in a religious dispute and represented 85 percent of American Jews.

"We have a history of avoiding partisanship for the sake of unity," Daniel Tsvorsky, executive vice president of B'nai B'rith, said at a news conference Monday. "But on this issue, we must speak out. There is already a dangerous gap between Israel and the Jewish diaspora," or those Jews who do not live in Israel.

In a three-page statement, the group said the suggested change was "morally and religiously offensive to us" and warned that it would cost Israel support among American Jews.

Responding to the protest, five American Orthodox groups immediately condemned it. Five religious parties that won seats in the Knesset in the recent Israeli elections have denounced an amendment to the law of return as a condition for supporting efforts by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir or by the Labor Party leader, Shimon Peres, to form a new government. The amendment would insist that conversions be performed by Orthodox rabbis "in accordance with halacha," or Jewish law.

Israeli law now condones Reform and Conservative conversions done according to Jewish law, which under the usual interpretation does not require Orthodox rabbis.

In 1981 a similar attempt to amend the law of return failed. Religious parties, negotiating with Prime Minister Menachem Begin for votes to build a coalition, demanded a change but were assuaged by an agreement to shut El Al, the Israeli airline, on the Sabbath.

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INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

Growth by Shrinkage?

Unemployment affects 11 percent of Europe's workers and is still rising. Many of the young and the disadvantaged risk never getting a job because the longer you are without one, the less your chances. In so grim a situation, the reflex of governments a decade ago would have been to reflate demand. This reflex is muted in Europe today because simply pushing up prices, not output and jobs.

It may be exaggerated to assume that governments today are totally unable to reduce unemployment by increasing real expenditure. America has done just this. But with inflation just beneath the surface in some of Europe and well above it in the rest, most governments will remain prudent. In any case, many believe that unemployment reflects long-term structural problems that cannot be solved quickly.

If old-fashioned stabilization policy cannot be used, it is natural to look for other ways to reduce joblessness. The idea of work-sharing has become widely popular in Europe: reduce the length of the workweek for all employed, or increase the length of holidays, or retire people early — so as to provide jobs for others. A degree of interest is also being expressed in the United States, along lines argued on this page today by Barbara R. Bergmann.

The concept has its attractions. Maybe the haves in the labor force are becoming less reluctant to help the have-nots. At least, it is about unemployment, not wages, that Britain's coal miners and West Germany's metalworkers have struck this year. But there are fundamental difficulties in the concept.

Europe's current problems are, importantly, the result of 15 years of inflation and the ensuing shyness of industry to invest. The

worst thing that could happen would be a sudden new impulse toward higher labor costs, and that is what work-sharing risks.

If, one way or another, those with jobs suddenly work appreciably less, will they accept lower earnings, exchanging income for unpaid leisure? There are a few examples where they have professed their readiness, but many where they haven't. In a crunch, are individuals going to look after the general interest rather than their own? The danger is that, as France found when it tried to move swiftly from 40 to 35 hours a week, labor will want shorter hours but the same weekly pay.

Perhaps labor costs — vital in any decision by business to hire more labor rather than economize on it — could be contained in a shorter-work exercise because output per hour would rise. It often does when work time is reduced. But this may simply reduce the extent to which shorter hours create more jobs.

Another effect of work-sharing might be to attract to the labor market people who are not currently seeking jobs — pushing up the applicants as fast as it creates job offers.

More fundamentally, is work-sharing the road down which Europe should now start to tread? It could mean the end of an ambition — which ought to continue — to restore anything like the growth process that Europe achieved in the 25 years or so after the war. It is surely premature to assume that, even if inflation is mastered, Europe will be unable to provide jobs for its population unless it provokes a brutal acceleration of the normal historic trend toward shorter hours. Significantly, Sweden, never adverse to solutions that shock the conservatives, professes little interest in the idea.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

Reagan Drops a Bomb

The problem is not that President Reagan likes to kid around, which is usually an appealing trait. It's his choice of subjects.

When he gave the usual week-end check before his radio broadcast last weekend, he said: "My fellow Americans, I am pleased to tell you I just signed legislation which outlaws Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes." Nuclear destruction is not something most people think of as a fit subject for summer sport. There is no danger that anyone will take a remark like that seriously — yet plenty of danger that it will be misunderstood.

Meanwhile, although the president evidently wants to be taken seriously on the subject of a 1985 tax increase, he has been making it hard to do so. A week ago he said: "We have no plans for, nor will I allow any plans for, a tax increase. Period." Then Vice President Bush said the president would keep his tax options open. Then on Sunday Mr. Reagan acknowledged that tax increases over next year were indeed possible: "A president of the United States

should never say never, but a tax increase has always been for me a last resort."

We are all for a president who likes to joke, but death and taxes are just about the least promising topics for humor in the bully pulpit, especially considering all the other possibilities with which Mr. Reagan might amuse himself the next time he warms up for the radio.

Like the vice presidency, "My fellow Americans," he might say, "In Dallas next week, I'm going to ask Fidel Castro to be my running mate." Or he might try the popular on conference in Mexico City last week: "My policies came out sounding so ignorant and callous that I don't know what happened and I want to apologize to the less-developed world."

Or he might address the gender gap. "We're running so far behind the Mondale-Ferraro ticket among women voters," he might say, "that today I'm going to offer you my recipe for blueberry muffins." Much merrier, if you ask us, than nuclear war jokes.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

Other Opinion

Enthusiasm Nearly Everywhere

Enthusiasm wherever you looked. Los Angeles gave the world super games, a sports festival the likes of which has not been seen for a long time. It was urgently needed to assure survival of the Olympic movement.

— Basler Zeitung (Basel).

The crowds' enthusiasm, for America but also for sport, produced fascinating Games after all, although chauvinism and commercialization sometimes became unbearable.

— Tages Anzeiger (Zurich).

The golden reputation of the Olympic city was at times blurred by the zealous patriotism.

— Helsingin Sanomat (Helsinki).

In 1984 the masses remain very sensitive to this kind of "bread and games." The negative aspects of this too gigantic event are quickly forgotten, but sports leaders of all countries have a lot to reflect upon.

— Gazet Van Antwerpen (Antwerp).

It is easy to play the cynic and mock Americans for getting emotional every time "The Star-Spangled Banner" was played — and heaven knows it was often played to deafening — but, well, it was sweet to hear "La Marseillaise" in the packed Rose Bowl Saturday after France beat Brazil in the soccer final with more than 100,000 spectators on their feet and roaring their pleasure.

— Claude Lamotte in Le Monde (Paris).

If we identify more with the competitors from our own country, it is not through the nonsense of nationalism but simply because a bloke from Nottingham Hill is much more understandable than one from Minnesota. And

cheering of personal favorites is not the whole story. For many of us, the fondest memories will not be of Carl Lewis doing the expected, or even of Sebastian Coe, but of the Moroccan girl amazing herself by winning the 400-meter hurdles. These were not the Carl Lewis Games but the Nawal El Moutawakil Olympics.

— Simon Barnes in The Times (London).

The 23d Olympics marked the beginning of China's full-fledged participation as a sports giant. Gone are the days when China walked away from the Games with a score of zero.

— Xinhua, the Chinese news agency (Beijing).

Dwarfs can't compete with the giants.

— Hurriyet (Istanbul).

Watching the Games makes one think how much better they would be if the Soviet Union and its political teammates had shown up.

— The Milwaukee Journal.

The Los Angeles Olympic Games were held to the roar of such gigantic cannons that one could think that those were not international competitions but a protracted celebration of America's Independence Day.

— Pravda (Moscow).

The flimsy pretexts Moscow used to boycott the Games and the sneering tone of Soviet reports from Los Angeles were self-demeaning and petty, and revealed how small-minded and non-athletic the ancients in the Kremlin are.

— The Daily Star (Beirut).

Those who aren't that can't win, and nobody misses them, either. The Americans made the best of the competition, and Olympia won once again.

— Neue Kronen-Zeitung (Vienna).

'The Bear Is Gnawing on His Own Paws'

By Ernest Conine

LOS ANGELES — Why is the Soviet Union being so beastly? There was the beating of the U.S. Marine guard in Leningrad by KGB thugs. The harassment of 50 members of an unauthorized Moscow of 50 members of an unauthorized Soviet peace group that had the audacity to call for a U.S.-Soviet summit meeting. The ugly campaign of vilification against America. The accusations of West German "revanchism."

The Reagan administration says the Kremlin's policy of calculated nastiness is part of an attempt to bring about President Reagan's defeat in November. There is probably a strong element of truth in that. Unfortunately, however, it does not follow that things will fundamentally improve after the election, whoever wins.

The reality seems to be that the Soviet system is in trouble and that its leaders, fearful of what genuine reforms would do to their power, are retreating into an ugly combination of stepped-up repression and of xenophobic hostility and suspicion toward the West.

In the words of Senator Charles Percy, the Illinois Republican who chairs the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "the Soviets now believe that what they call the 'correlation of forces' in the world [is] beginning to turn against them, and they are reacting by circling the wagons."

In the Soviet lexicon, the correlation of forces is measured not only by the respective military power of the Soviet camp and the West, it also reckons economic strength, political unity and global perceptions of which side is winning. According to Marxist-Leninist theory, the correlation of forces is destined by history to move inexorably in favor of communism.

A Canadian diplomat, Robert A.D. Ford, writes in Foreign Affairs that "the idea of status quo, while acceptable as a temporary tactic, is rejected as a goal of Soviet policy." Mr. Ford, who spent 16 years in Moscow, points out that the Soviet concept of détente, or peaceful coexistence, fits comfortably in this framework.

In 1972, even as Leonid Brezhnev was busy signing agreements with Washington and exchanging toasts with Richard Nixon and Henry

Kissinger, he was also saying that peaceful coexistence "in no way implies the possibility of relaxing the ideological struggle. On the contrary, we must be prepared for this struggle to be intensified and become an even sharper form of confrontation between the two systems."

Those were the salad days, when it was possible to call communism the wave of the future.

Things were going wrong when Leonid Brezhnev died, and they have grown worse.

without snickering. Things were going wrong when Brezhnev died, and they have grown worse.

Sure, the Soviet Union can take some comfort from its growing military strength, the emergence of neutralist longings among large numbers of West Germans and Scandinavians, the erosion of American prestige in the Middle East and the divisive effect of Marxist-led insurrections in Central America on American policies. The fact remains that the overall outlook is grim.

The Soviet leaders plainly hoped that their campaign of intimidation against the deployment of U.S. missile in Europe would pull down their domination of the European land mass. So far it hasn't. The United States is refusing to accept a position of military inferiority, and if you read the Democratic Party's platform carefully it appears that Walter Mondale is not prepared to preside over a pro-Soviet shift in the correlation of forces.

The economy, burdened by a rigid system of centralized control, is finding it difficult to cope in the new age of explosively changing technology and industrial management techniques.

Soviet society shows signs of a deep malaise. Corruption is rife, the work ethic is seriously

frayed and younger Soviet citizens display precious little attachment to Communist ideology. After almost 40 years, the people of Eastern Europe still despise the Soviet Union and resent its domination over their lives. The Communist parties of Western Europe, once the obedient servants of Soviet purposes, are nowadays ashamed of their Russian connections.

The Soviet system has lost whatever attraction it once had in the Third World. Anti-Western revolutionaries welcome Soviet arms, but, as events in Africa demonstrate, in the long run such countries gravitate toward the West and its superior reservoirs of capital and know-how.

Yuri Andropov showed signs of recognizing that business-as-usual, with regard either to the West or to the Soviet Union's internal problems, would not do. But he is dead. His successor, Konstantin Chernenko, is the archetypal representative of the old-line bureaucracy that is part of the problem rather than the solution.

An American scholar tells of his conversation with a longtime Soviet acquaintance in a Moscow think tank that deals with East-West problems. According to his account of the conversation, his Soviet contact told him that there is nothing that the United States can do to put U.S.-Soviet relations back on the track.

"Our Socialists are back in power," the Soviet academician told him, "and nothing can be done until these old men are gone."

If that is true, the severe case of Soviet grumpiness will not go away just because one man or the other is elected president of the United States. The Soviets assuredly would explore what free concessions might be forthcoming from a new president, but, unless you assume that Mr. Mondale is an idiot, you have to conclude that he would not be willing to concede a tilt of the correlation of forces in Moscow's favor.

The Soviets seem to sense this reality but cannot act accordingly. As a longtime Western observer of things Russian puts it, "The Russian bear has not only retreated into its cage, he is sitting there gnawing on his own paws."

Los Angeles Times

A Case for Shortening the Workweek in America

By Barbara R. Bergmann

LOS ANGELES — The recent seven-day strike by West German metalworkers for a shorter workweek signals the start of a movement that may soon pick up steam and spread to the rest of Europe and America.

There are two reasons why a shorter workweek would make sense in the United States. One is the fact that, despite a vigorous recovery, the unemployment rate is expected to remain high by historical standards; a shorter workweek would "spread the work" and allow more people to have jobs. Second, many workers would like to have more time to devote to their families or to leisure activities, and would be willing to trade pay increases for fewer hours.

Although the unemployment rate in America has receded and can be expected to drop a bit more, optimism about the longer-term outlook appears to be unwarranted. There is virtually no chance that the present recovery can continue long enough to bring unemployment down to anywhere near the 4-percent level once considered a reasonable approximation of "full employment."

Since 1970 there have been three recessions, each of which has carried the unemployment rate to a higher peak: 6.1 percent in 1971, 9 percent in 1975 and 10.7 percent in 1982. As the recessions have grown increasing-

ly painful, the subsequent recoveries have sopped up a lower proportion of the unemployment.

The present U.S. unemployment rate of 7.5 percent looks good when compared to the situation of two years ago, but it looks terrible when compared to any reasonable standard of economic health. Moreover, much of the recovery in employment may be past. Already interest rates are rising, and this is bound to restrict further growth in employment. Real wages have not succeeded in breaking the dismal long-term trend of poorer recoveries.

The proposal for a shorter work-

week would attack unemployment by increasing the number of people it takes to maintain a given level of production. Such schemes can be labeled "deflationist" because they do not attempt to increase the demand for labor by stimulating production. Yet perhaps the time has come to acknowledge that policies attacking unemployment through demand-side or supply-side stimulation have in truth not worked well enough.

Among academic economists, Nobel Prize winner Wassily Leontief of New York University advocates a shorter workweek to meet the insufficient demand for workers. He sees the problem of unemployment growing even more acute as computerization of the economy increases.

American labor unions would have to be in the forefront of the campaign for fewer hours if the idea were to make headway. Unions are showing some interest in the concept; an article in a recent issue of the AFL-CIO's magazine was supportive of the idea.

Business, understandably, has been hostile to demands for a reduced workweek. Management fears that the result would be increased labor and capital costs and disruption of work schedules. Yet there is a way to move to a shorter workweek without a big increase in costs.

The current rise in productivity could allow for a one-inflationary increase in real hourly pay and a simultaneous and offsetting decrease in hours. This would avoid a painful drop in the real purchasing power of weekly pay for the workers, but would keep costs within bounds.

Scheduling problems would have to be worked out. A half-hour off each work day would probably induce little increase in employment. But a 4½-day week alternating with a 5-day week would average out to a 5-percent reduction in the workweek, which might have a significant effect.

A move to a 4½-day week might start a trend toward fundamental changes. Workers and employers might become more flexible to allow for more individual scheduling of work time. People might come to think of a workweek as consisting of as many half-day units as necessary for them to satisfy their demand for income and free time.

The current hard-and-fast distinction between full- and part-time employees might be lessened, along with the severe discrimination that part-time employees currently suffer in pay and fringe benefits.

With improved opportunities for part-time work at decent hourly pay with proportionate fringe benefits, more employees would switch to a part-time schedule. This work and the income that it generates could be shared more widely.

There has been no legislative action on the American standard workweek since the 1930s. The trend toward unemployment in the last 25 years, the looming displacement of workers through automation, the rise in the number of two-earner families and the desire of many people to work less than the current standard suggest that a reduction in the length of the workweek is overdue.

The writer, professor of economics at the University of Maryland, contributed this to the Los Angeles Times.

Would Zola Approve Of Budd?

By James Cameron

LONDON — The massive television confidence trick called the Olympic Games has mercifully petered out, and with any luck will never reappear. Anything can happen in four years.

My implacable detestation of the Olympics wins me no friends. But, like Los Angeles itself, it is built on straightforward mercenary logic. In Britain we all pay a not inconsiderable license fee to keep the BBC going, and for most of the year I reckon we get very good value. Except for this mercenary brief summer period when we are taken over by this scourge of Olympics.

One must assume that the top brass of programming is of the man-types who get pleasure from watching other man-types (of either sex) running round grass tracks or jumping over high things or throwing very heavy lumps of something — activities which to most of us are by now so excruciatingly familiar as to be boring beyond belief.

It will be evident that I am not an obsessive athlete. I was once an



adequate competitive swimmer. I played fair golf. And until recently I could reckon to run 100 yards in about 21 seconds, given a minute's rest halfway through. Today I do nothing at all, and gravely resent the television assuming that the prospect of faraway strangers running and jumping about is worth a pound-a-week license fee.

The trouble is, the thing has become self-generative. Everybody now knows and debates the name of Zola Budd. What is Zola Budd? I am sure she is nice. She is apparently a tongue-tied South African adolescent who wangled a British passport so that she could become the total example of how a non-person can make it into international celebrity by running around barefoot. What in heaven's name does it

matter, and why am I going on about it as though it did? Simply because the press has been full of it, and nothing is important until the press makes it so.

We are in the middle of international tensions never before so acute nor perilous, and we fuss about Zola Budd. What? Zola? The real one was a reporter like me some nine decades ago who wrote "Pacifism," defending and restoring the Jewish so-called traitor Dreyfus: a memorable piece of history.

Did Mr. and Mrs. Budd know about Emilie Zola, and if so, in faraway South Africa, why?

Does Miss Zola the barefoot runner miss Lady Zola?

This comment was adapted from The Guardian in London.

The Republican Marathon Hits Dallas

By David S. Broder

DALLAS — As the cheers of the Olympics fade, the thoughts of the world's athletes and many of us fans who were lucky enough to be there turn to 1988. Once again, politicians are ahead of the pack.

The first two words I encountered were "Republican." Kemp and Senator Bob Dole, normally working in the 1984 Republican platform but actually gearing up their 1988 presidential campaigns. They are only two of a large field, for the overriding fact of this Republican convention is that it is Ronald Reagan's last as a contender.

A generation of Republican politicians has come of age since Mr. Reagan first sought the nomination. That was back in 1968 when the newly elected California governor launched a last-minute bid to dethrone Richard Nixon. When you remember how long he has dominated the Republican national scene, you understand the eagerness of so many younger Republicans to get started on 1988.

Consider one of the darker horses in the 1988 parade, Delaware's Governor Pierre S. D. Pont. He is 53 and only 33 when Mr. Reagan first sought the nomination. He will be 53 in 1988. But ambition deferred is often ambition strengthened. The 1988 presidential campaign, expected of Vice President George Bush and Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, were nurtured in the 1970s, and Mr. Pont, some say, had that goal in mind at least that far back.

Many find this persistent ambition offensive, but it is, in truth, the same admirable human trait that has made

Carlos Lopes of Portugal an Olympic marathon champion at 37.

Without that drive and ambition, politics and sports would both lack the courage and challenge that make them distinctive. So I was amazed, not offended, when I found on a recent visit to Wilmington that the book on display in the office of the retiring governor of Delaware was an album of New Hampshire scenes. He received it in thanks for some of the dozens of speeches he has made already in the state that traditionally holds the first presidential primary.

No one named Du Pont is ever going to be considered a complete underdog in anything, but Nelson Rockefeller's example offers telling evidence that wealth by itself will not unlock the door to the presidency.

It takes dogged determination and ambition even to be in a position to compete for the job; in Mr. Du Pont's case, two years in the Delaware Legislature, then six years in the U.S. House of Representatives, then eight years in the governorship.

When he talks of his record as governor, one hears echoes of Ronald Reagan talking about his California years. There have been two across-the-board tax cuts, a deficit erased, a spurt of economic growth, a boost in education funding and an innovative program for job training and placement of high school students.

Like Mr. Reagan, Mr. Du Pont has earned the grudging admiration of Democrats who first scorned him as a

political novice. State Senator Thomas B. Sharp, who has been majority leader through almost all of Mr. Du Pont's years as governor, says, "We've had our battles, but I come away with great respect for him. He's been straight with me."

Like Mr. Reagan, Mr. Du Pont understands that running for president is now a full-time job. Instead of running for the Senate this year against Senator Joe Biden, himself a 1988 Democratic presidential hopeful, Mr. Du Pont is taking what he hopes will be a temporary departure from public office, while his wife, Elaine, runs for his old House seat. After November he will spend part time with a conservative think tank and full time running for president.

It may come to nothing. The odds are certainly against him. But in politics, as at the Olympics, the quality of the competition depends on ambition that overlooks the odds.

The Washington Post

How China Formulates Its Policy

By A. Doak Barnett

McLEAN, Virginia — In a rare personal interview granted to me in Beijing, Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang described with unprecedented detail the foreign-policy-making roles and relationships of China's top party and government leaders. His statements indicate that much of the conventional wisdom in the West about how Chinese policy-making takes place is out of date.

It is essential that leaders in Washington and elsewhere in the West recognize that under Deng Xiaoping's aegis a new generation of leaders now manages policy-making in both domestic and foreign affairs. These are the men the West must deal with in the years ahead.

As the Chinese put it, these leaders are now the "first line" in policy-making. Most older leaders have been eased into the background, into the so-called second line.

Western analysts generally have believed that most key policy decisions are made in meetings of the 27-member Politburo and its six-member standing committee. Mr. Zhao states that the standing committee no longer meets as a body and that the full Politburo now meets only irregularly and infrequently.

Clearly, the day-to-day process of major policy decision takes place mainly in the party Central Committee's secretariat, which consists of General Secretary Hu Yaobang and 11 regular and alternate members, and in the State Council's "inner cabinet," consisting of Mr. Zhao, four deputy prime ministers and 10 state councilors, each supervising a broad area of government work.

Mr. Zhao says that the State Council's group meets regularly twice a week, which is far more frequently than outside observers have assumed. He says that even though he is not formally a member of the secretariat, he sits in on its meetings — which suggests close collaboration and coordination. Other official Chinese sources state that the secretariat also meets twice a week.

Mr. Zhao stresses that Deng Xiaoping personally remains the ultimate source of decision-making authority, involved in all really major decisions, and that the secretariat and the State Council still consult party elders in the Politburo and the standing committee. But Mr. Hu's secretariat and Mr. Zhao's State Council run the party and government on a day-to-day basis, in close consultation with each other and with Mr. Deng.

Mr. Zhao, describing the decision-making process for foreign policy, discussed two important groups never before publicly mentioned by top leaders. One is a special foreign affairs group under the secretariat, the other a coordinating group for foreign policy under the State Council.

The party's foreign affairs group is described by Mr. Zhao as primarily a consultative body. However, this group — whose chairman reportedly is President Li Xianian — recently brings most of China's best foreign affairs specialists, including academics, together to discuss key policy issues. It may make some policy decisions and certainly is a major adviser to the secretariat.

The coordinating group under the State Council, as described by Mr. Zhao, is headed by State Councilor Ji Pengxi, a former foreign minister. He meets frequently to coordinate the foreign policy activities of government ministries with Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian and the minister for foreign economic relations and trade, Chen Muhua.

The most important conclusion emerging from the interview is that the main focus of day-to-day policy-making has shifted from the Politburo, where party elders still predominate, to the party secretariat and the State Council, where Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang represent the new generation of Chinese leaders.

That Mr. Hu and Mr. Zhao play such key policy-making roles has important implications for China's broad foreign policy and for U.S.-China relations. Both men are strong promoters of Beijing's new "open door" policy of steady expansion of foreign economic relations to support China's economic modernization. Both are committed to China's new "independent" foreign policy, which calls for close cooperation with America and cautious normalization of relations with the Soviet Union, but no close military-strategic alignment with either superpower.

Both, in short, symbolize China's present determination to become a more active participant in the international community while pursuing its own national interests and developmental objectives.

The writer is professor of Chinese studies at The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and author of numerous books on China. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Taiwan and Hong Kong

Regarding the editorial "Hong Kong Tests Beijing" (Aug. 4):

The media are kidding themselves if they really think the Chinese on Taiwan are going to take Hong Kong as some sort of example for Taiwan's unification with mainland China.

Few people in Taiwan compare Taiwan with Hong Kong. Historically, Hong Kong has never had a role in the Nationalist-Communist rivalry. It has never been set in fierce opposition to the Chinese Communist regime. Hong Kong is not an enemy of the Peking regime, whereas Nationalist-Communist wounds run deep.

Second, Hong Kong's unification with the Chinese mainland is strictly involuntary. Hong Kong simply has

no choice in the matter. On the other hand, Taiwan is heavily armed and not so easily coerced. To unify Taiwan under Beijing's terms would require much more than writing or paper; only a bloody invasion of the island could ever accomplish that.

PHILIP MARTIN.

Taipei.

Has Tibet Been Growing?

I belatedly point out that you were mistaken to call Tibet "a nation the size of Western Europe." (June 26, 1984, p. 12.) Tibet is 471,700 square kilometers (471,700 square miles).

MORTON McDONALD, Berkeley, California.

FROM OUR AUG. 15 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1909: U.S. Navy Faulted for 'Waste' WASHINGTON — Naval authorities are indignant over an attack by the "Marine Review," a Cleveland, which purports to discredit the navy unless appropriations are granted for a ship subsidy. An article headed "Naval Waste" is the wildest of all recent "muck-raking." Prominent advocates of legislation for a merchant marine are assailed at what they pronounce an ill-advised move, more likely to hurt than to help the subsidy cause. Meanwhile, Mr. Winthrop, Acting Secretary of the Navy, is not disposed to approve a recommendation to purchase two Wright aeroplanes for use in fire control and scouting. He regards the machines as not yet having emerged from the experimental stage.

1934: U.S. Jobs or Europe's Dole? PARIS — Having studied at first hand the various ways in which Britain, Germany, Austria, Italy and France are trying to care for the millions who cannot find work, Harry L. Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator, who spent a billion and a half dollars on America's unemployed last year and will spend another billion and a half this year, declared (Aug. 14), on the eve of sailing home, that none of the European systems can be adopted by the United States, which must work out her own solution to the problem. The American plan, Mr. Hopkins said he was convinced, must be based on finding work for the unemployed and not, as in Europe, on providing a dole for the idle who cannot be absorbed into industry.

AMEX Most Active					
	Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Indivdy	4238	1 7/8	2 1/8	2 3/8	+
Verizon	3667	2 1/2	2 1/2	2 3/4	+
Worship	3641	2 3/4	2 3/4	2 3/4	+
TLE	2249	1 3/4	1 3/4	1 3/4	+
Unipac	1849	1 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2	+
Telecom	1682	3 1/2	3 1/2	3 1/2	+
AltaVista	1011	7 1/2	7 1/2	7 1/2	+
RAI	1011	3 3/4	3 3/4	3 3/4	+
Deutsche	1242	21 1/2	21 1/2	21 1/2	+
Citic Grp	146	19	19	19	+
AMEX	1117	1 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2	+
Domep	926	1 1/4	1 1/4	1 1/4	+

AMEX Stock Index			
High	Low	Close	Chg.
208.05	207.21	207.43	+

10

100

(Continued on Page 10)



IT'S THE FENDER STICKING THRU THE ROOF

Bob Schuchman

WISHING SHE DOESN'T TALK TO MARTHA AND THE OTHER NURSES LIKE SHE'D HELP.

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11 Like fle
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Unscramble these four jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

DUTOO

FLECT

EDGERD

BORRAH

by **HELEN HEND AND BOB COLE**

CRYPTOGRAPHY ROOM

WHAT THE SECRET AGENT WAS COMPLAINING OF.

Now arrange the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

		Class Price		Class Price	
129	131.0				
130	134.20				
232	137.30				
105	140.00				
105	142.50				
223	145.00				
100	147.00				
223	149.00				
100	151.00				
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100					

[illegible]

HEARSE	Sorter	197
GLUT	Pleat	440
GLOOS	Footnote	610
RAIN	Trust Dory	2,570
IONS	Earth Atee	1,465
WAT	Rules Shief	511

8/15/84

